*584 children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà
*593 in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own
*597 daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like
[561] that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as
[513] brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

*584 Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into
*597 the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our
*593 suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily
*121 the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood asso-
153 ciation. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which
835 they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple, 166 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when their child was eighteen months old because the boy's [582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls. Because few married girls continue working in the factory after marriage or after the first child is born at the latest, the age when they return to the village helps explain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four residents were males only and also to the greater shortage of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found by Gallin for his village on the west central plain (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory 162 work in Sanfei and moreover, it is possible for men to 369 continue living in the village while working in the city. 367 Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 561 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [355] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

291 A few young men are quite "mod," slim tight
177 trousers, sport shirts in "psychedelic" colors, and leather
• 561 jackets. Two village boys who dress in this style regularly play a guitar and sing the modern songs in Japanese or Chinese. Modern Japanese songs are very popular and young people learn to sing them by copying records although speaking little Japanese. Village boys are thereby imitating the young sub-culture of urban dwellers in their early twenties.

291 Women usually wear cotton skirts and blouses. Underneath, they seldom wear slips or brassieres but do wear underpants made of the same previously described "flour-sack" material, in a shape and form not unlike tight peddle-pushers nearly reaching the knees. There is no immodesty attached to exposing underpants. To assume a favorite working position, a woman merely hikes her skirt up to her waist and squats. For work in the fields, women often wear trousers which tuck into split-toe boots, long-sleeved tight-necked blouses, cotton gloves, all topped off with a straw hat fastened by a cloth over the top tied under the chin. This outfit offers protection from thorns, insects, and the effects of the sun. The wide straw hat which provides protection from both the
291 sun and rain is worn often by men and women alike. A few
561 older women wear the traditional Chinese jacket with pantaloons but only very old women wear a <u>chi pao</u> (the

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[542] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[234] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[889] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
• [561] siaosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% siaosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

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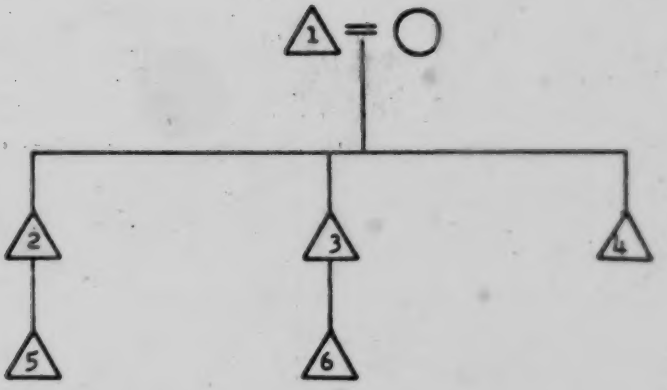

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

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182 (11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[361] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[389] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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575 Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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575 With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate
[593] competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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a 561 A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

[776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [796] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

561 573 claim they will come back to take over the family farm when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 573 574 The associations fulfill a number of functions in the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each guest contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 573 456 A second function is as a mutual insurance association. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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[562]

2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[171] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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626 The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors: association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups

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are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

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572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

• 561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [702] [561] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

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• 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

527 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis
561 for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called
527 hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX,
805 the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one
886 reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but
527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There
886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

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If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

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527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[561] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of